

Message Text

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51

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-04 ISO-00 SAM-01 SAB-01 OMB-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4337

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 16881

BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL (MIDDLE EAST)

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG, IS, UR, XE

SUBJ: SOVIET VIEWS ON ME

1. SUMMARY: MFA DEPUTY CHIEF, NEAR EAST COUNTRIES
DIVISION PYRLIN ON NOVEMBER 5 GAVE POLITICAL COUNSELOR
AND EMBOFF A RUNDOWN ON SOVIET VIEWS RE MIDDLE EAST.
HE CHARACTERIZED RABAT SUMMIT AS "SUCCESSFUL" IN RESOLVING
PLO-JORDANIAN DIFFERENCES, BUT RESERVED JUDGMENT ON
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CONFERENCE'S FINAL SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR

GENEVA TILL FULL REACTION OBTAINED FROM ARAB STATES. PYRLIN DID NOT MAKE STRONG CASE FOR EARLY RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE, BUT HE DID INDICATE THAT SOVIETS WANT THE NEXT STEPS TOWARD SETTLEMENT TO TAKE PLACE IN GENEVA FRAMEWORK WHERE MOSCOW CAN PLAY MAJOR ROLE. HE SAID SOVIETS ARE NOW DISCUSSING EXACT TIMING OF SADAT-BREZHNEV SUMMIT IN JANUARY AND INDICATED THAT BREZHNEV MAY ALSO VISIT SYRIA AND IRAQ AT THAT TIME. RESUMPTION OF SOVIET-ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS COULD ONLY TAKE PLACE, PYRLIN STATED, FOLLOWING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM AT LEAST SOME OF OCCUPIED TERRITORY COUPLED WITH ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE OF COMPLETE EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL OF 1967 FRONTIERS AND GOI CESSATION OF TIS PRESENT "WORLDWIDE "ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN." END SUMMARY.

2. ARAB SUMMIT. DURING COURTESY CALL ON HIM IN HIS OFFICE, PYRLIN SAID HE HAD NOT YET SEEN THE FINAL DOCUMENTS ISSUED BY RABAT CONFERENCE OR RECIEVED FULL REPORT FROM SOVIET EMBASSY IN MOROCCO. NEVERTHELESS, THE CONFERENCE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN QUITE "SUCCESSFUL" IN THAT IT MADE PROGRESS IN MODERATING PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN DIFFERENCES AND SOLVING THE "PROBLEM" OF KING HUSSEIN. THE MEETING IN AMMAN BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN AND THE PLO LATER THIS MONTH SHOULD HELP TO CLARIFY WHAT THE RABAT MEETING HAS MEANT IN TERMS OF BOTH THE PLO-JORDANIAN RELATIONSHIP AND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, HE SAID.

3. PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. FAHMY TOLD SOVIETS DURING HIS RECENT VISIT THAT UAR WOULD SUPPORT PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, PYRLIN SAID. SOVIET POSITION ON THIS QUESTION, HOWEVER, IS THAT DECISION ABOUT PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT WAS MATTER FOR THE ARABS TO DECIDE. IF THEY COULD AGREE, SOVIETS WOULD SUPPORT THEM, PYRLIN ASSERTED. PROBLEM REMAINS COMPLICATED, HE NOTED, BECAUSE OF PALESTINIAN AND ARAB DIFFERENCES OF VIEW. CERTAIN ARAB STATES SUCH AS IRAQ REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY POLITICAL SOLUTION. IRAQIS, IN FACT, STILL TALK ABOUT DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL, WHICH "IS NOT REALISTIC." FURTHERMORE, HABASH CONFIDENTIAL

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AND OTHER PALESTINIANS CONTINUE TO ADOPT EXTREMIST COURSE AND DENOUNCE ARAFAT. OTHERS HAVE VARYING VIEWS OF THE PALESTINIAN FUTURE; SOME EXPRESSING THE IDEA OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE, SOME SUPPORTING A FEDERATIONWITH JORDAN, STILL OTHERS TALKING ABOUT ECONOMIC UNION WITH ISRAEL.

4. GENEVA CONFERENCE. PYRLIN NEVERTHELESS CHARACTERIZED

HIMSELF AS A "MODIFIED OPTIMIST" REGARDING A POSSIBLE SOLUTION, BUT INSISTED THAT ONLY PROPER FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH SOLUTION WAS AT GENEVA WHERE, AS CO-CHAIRMEN, U.S. AND USSR COULD PLAY USEFUL ROLE. HOWEVER, HE INDICATED CLEARLY THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT AN EARLY RENEWAL OF THE CONFERENCE. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE APPROVINGLY QUOTED BOUMEDIENNE AS HAVING SAID MEPC SHOULD DEAL NOT ONLY WITH THE "FINAL DOCUMENTS" OF A SETTLEMENT BUT SHOULD BE THE VENUE FOR NEGOTIATING SUCH A SETTLEMENT.

5. SOVIET-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS. PYRLIN SAID THE SOVIETS ARE NOW DISCUSSING TIMING OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO CAIRO, WHICH WILL PROBABLY TAKE PLACE IN THE MIDDLE OF JANUARY. BREZHNEV'S SCHEDULE WAS VERY FULL AND SADAT WILL ALSO BE GOING TO WASHINGTON AT END OF JANUARY, HE SAID. ASKED WHETHER BREZHNEV WOULD BE VISITING OTHER ME STATES DURING THIS TRIP, PYRLIN REPLIED THAT NO FINAL DECISION HAD YET BEEN MADE, BUT INDICATED THAT BREZHNEV MIGHT BE GOING TO SYRIA AND PERHAPS IRAQ AS WELL. PYRLIN HAD NOTHING NEW TO OFFER REGARDING FAHMY VISIT TO MOSCOW EXCEPT TO CONFIRM THAT ABSENCE OF COMMUNIQUE WAS SOVIET IDEA. THE SOVIETS, HE SAID, FELT THAT DOCUMENT ISSUED AFTER FAHMY'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV AND THAT JOINT SOVIET-EGYPTIAN STATEMENT ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM WERE SUFFICIENT.

6. SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS. PYRLIN STATED THERE WAS NO PROSPECT THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL WILL BE RENEWED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. TIES COULD BE REESTABLISHED, HE COMMENTED, ONLY WHEN TWO PRE-CONDITIONS HAD BEEN MET: (A) ACHIEVEMENT OF SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS ON SETTLEMENT IN THE ME
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INCLUDING AT LEAST ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SOME OCCUPIED TERRITORIES COMBINED WITH AN ISRAELI COMMITMENT OF TOTAL WITHDRAWAL TO THE 1967 BORDERS; AND (B) AN END TO "ISRAEL'S ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN" THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HE SAID IN THIS REGARD THAT ISRAEL WAS ENGAGED IN A WIDESPREAD CAMPAIGN OF DEFAMATION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND THAT THIS COULD NOT BE TOLERATED.
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